

Journal:

Perspectives on Politics

Manuscript title:

'It's not that simple, we don't know the whole truth:' The effects of pseudo fact-checking in wartime Russia

Authors:

Maxim Alyukov and Margarita Zavadskaya

Date:

January 8, 2026

1. SOFTWARE AND COMPUTING ENVIRONMENT

The analysis was conducted in R.

R version: 4.2.3

Operating system: macOS

Key packages used:

dplyr
haven
sjPlot
psych
cregg
ggplot2
cowplot
ggpubr
stringr
pwr

2. FILE INVENTORY

Code files: code_final.Rmd

Main analysis script. Code was executed interactively, chunk by chunk, in RStudio. However, it can also be run as a whole file from top to bottom.

Data files: media.sav

Original survey dataset exported from Qualtrics (SPSS format).

Log files: log.txt

Console log capturing printed output, warnings, and messages produced during execution of the R code.

Output / results:

Tables and figures are generated within the Rmd code and correspond to those reported in the manuscript.

3. LOG FILE DESCRIPTION

The file log.txt serves as the program log. It contains model estimation output. Objects were printed explicitly (e.g. using `str()`, `summary()`) to ensure they appear in the log.

4. REPLICATION INSTRUCTIONS

1. Set the working directory to the folder containing this README.
2. Open `code_final.Rmd` in RStudio.
3. Run the code sequentially, chunk by chunk, or as a whole file from top to bottom.
4. Review the graphs generated in the output folder.
5. Review the tables displayed in the Rmd script or the R console.

5. TABLES AND FIGURES MAPPING

Main Text

Tables

Table 1:

Credibility of news and debunking stories. Generated in section: #13. CREDIBILITY AND PARTISANSHIP -- DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS.

Table 2:

Offline and online media trust. Generated in section: #16. MEDIA TRUST -- DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS.

Table 3:

Attribution of responsibility. Generated in section: #19. RESPONSIBILITY ATTRIBUTION -- DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS.

Figures

Figure 4:

Respondents' political engagement and regime support. Generated in section: #6. DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS.

Figure 5:

Credibility by regime support. Generated in section: #14. CREDIBILITY AND PARTISANSHIP.

Figure 6:

The effect of fact-checks on credibility of news stories. Generated in section: #15. EXPERIMENT – CREDIBILITY.

Figure 7: The effect of fact-checks on media trust. Generated in sections: #17. EXPERIMENT -- OFFLINE MEDIA TRUST and #18. EXPERIMENT -- ONLINE MEDIA TRUST.

Figure 8: The effect of fact-checks on attribution of responsibility Generated in section: #21. EXPERIMENT -- RESPONSIBILITY ATTRIBUTION.

Figure 9: The effect of fact-checks on attribution of responsibility by regime support. Generated in section: #22. EXPERIMENT -- RESPONSIBILITY ATTRIBUTION BY PARTISANSHIP.

Appendix

Tables

Table A1:

Credibility and Partisanship (OLS). Generated in section: #12. EXPERIMENT -- PARTISANSHIP AND CREDIBILITY.

Table A2:

Credibility, media trust, attribution of responsibility (AMCE). Generated in section: #15. EXPERIMENT – CREDIBILITY.

Table A3:

The effect of debunking on refusal to attribute responsibility across partisan groups (AMCE). Generated in section: #22. EXPERIMENT -- RESPONSIBILITY ATTRIBUTION BY PARTISANSHIP.

Table A4:

Differences between the effects of war-focused and economy-focused fact-checks (z-tests). Generated in sections: #23. WAR VS ECONOMY – CREDIBILITY and #24. WAR VS ECONOMY – RESPONSIBILITY.

Table A5:

The effect of fact-checks on media trust. Generated in section: #A1. PROPA EXPERIMENT.

Table A6:

The effect of debunking on attribution of responsibility to the West across partisan groups (AMCE). Generated in section: # A2. BACKFIRE EFFECT.

Table A7:

The effect of the war-related anti-regime debunking story on attribution of responsibility among regime critics (AMCE). Generated in section: #A3. ROBUSTNESS -- SOCIAL DESIRABILITY CHECK (BACKFIRING).

Table A8:

The effect of framing on refusal to attribute responsibility among regime critics (AMCE). Generated in section: #A4. ROBUSTNESS -- SOCIAL DESIRABILITY CHECK 1 (RESPONSIBILITY).

Table A9:

The effect of framing on support for United Russia (AMCE). Generated in section: #A5. ROBUSTNESS -- SOCIAL DESIRABILITY CHECK 2 (PARTY SUPPORT).

Table A10:

Heterogeneous effects of debunking on credibility of news stories. Generated in section: #A6. ROBUSTNESS -- HETEROGENEOUS EFFECTS OF DEBUNKING ON CREDIBILITY.

Table B2:

Balance check. Generated in section: #B1. BALANCE CHECK.

Table B3:

Correct answers to the comprehension question. Generated in section: #B2. PROCESSING TASK.

Table C1:

Respondent sample versus July 2023 Chronicles representative survey (CATI) and the data of the Federal State Statistics Service. Generated in section: #C1. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS.

Table C2:

Regional variation of the sample and the population. Generated in section: #C2. REGIONAL VARIATION.

Figures

Figure A1:

The effect of fact-checks on media trust. Generated in section: #A1. PROPA EXPERIMENT -- MEDIA TRUST.

Figure 2:

The effect of fact-checks on attribution of responsibility by partisanship. Generated in section: #A2. BACKFIRE EFFECT.

Figure A3:

The effect of the war-related anti-regime debunking story on attribution of responsibility among regime critics (AMCE). Generated in section: #A3. ROBUSTNESS -- SOCIAL DESIRABILITY CHECK (BACKFIRING):.

Figure A4:

The effect of framing on refusal to attribute responsibility among regime critics (AMCE). Generated in section: #A4. ROBUSTNESS -- SOCIAL DESIRABILITY CHECK 1 (RESPONSIBILITY).

Figure A5:

The effect of framing on support for United Russia among regime critics (AMCE). Generated in section: #A5. ROBUSTNESS -- SOCIAL DESIRABILITY CHECK 2 (PARTY SUPPORT).

Figure B9:

Power vs Sample Size per Condition. Generated in section: #B3. POWER ANALYSIS.

6. CONTACT

For questions regarding replication materials, contact:

Maxim Alyukov

maxim.alyukov@manchester.ac.uk